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312 troughs and pipes (pl. 3, upper left). Large tanks exist in the approximate center of town, and water is also piped to a fountain in the plaza. The troughs leak, however, and in some places are low enough to permit water to be dipped directly from them. In consequence, if the flow is small, water may not reach the tanks in sufficient quantity. The lower portion of the town receives no water directly and the effort of obtaining water in those sections, particularly the southwest district, is considerable.

FOREST UTILIZATION

313 The forests are one of the important and most utilized natural resources of Cherán. Firewood, charcoal, posts, railroad ties, shakes, and lumber of various sizes are secured from the woods. Forests cover a very large part of the Cherán lands and most of the timber is on public domain, although some forest patches may occur on privately owned land. The public domain is regarded as belonging to the town, and the Federal Government levies a nominal [651] land tax on the community for the forest lands. Each head of a household pays a fee (*rústica*), usually 25 centavos a quarter, which is collected by a committee on community property (*bienes comunales*). This sum covers the taxes and gives each person the right to cut firewood from public lands. Persons exploiting other forest resources pay more.

Until recently utilization of other forest 656 resources was also open to everyone. The De- 313 partment of Forestry of the Federal Government is now attempting to control the exploitation of the forests, and since 1940 any use of the forest for purposes other than cutting firewood requires a permit. In 1941 an effort was being made to restrict all lumbering and charcoal burning to members of a cooperative. This is discussed later.

[556] With the exception of a few wealthy persons, everyone who is not lazy cuts his own firewood.[1]

[438] [435] [563] [1] This is general even in such Mestizoized towns as Chilchota. In the latter town, however, there is some selling of firewood. During planting and harvest times the price is $0.35 a carga (burro load in this case); the rest of the year it is $0.25 a carga. Some people in Angahuan make a business of taking firewood to Mestizo Zamora; similar cases occur in villages near Mestizo towns. *Ocote* (pitch pine), used principally for light, is also produced by the householder in Cherán. A long vertical cut is made on one side of a tree, which is gradually cut away as pitch accumulates. The tree is rarely cut through, but it usually dies from the operation. In Chilchota, where ocote (pitch pine) is sold,

[text continues on p. 17a]

241 orate ornaments of wheat straw at harvest time, which are hung on the veranda or inside the house. Beliefs about these ornaments were denied.

No beliefs or customs were discovered regarding other plants except those connected with roasting the wild agave.

DOMESTIC ANIMALS

231 The domestic animals found in Cherán are cattle, horses, mules, burros, sheep, goats, pigs, dogs, cats, chickens, pigeons, and bees. Of these, cattle, burros, sheep, and pigs are the most numerous and of greatest economic importance. Turkeys, ducks, and geese are completely lacking, although they are found in [184] other Tarascan towns. Sevina, for example, has a fair number of turkeys.

231 *Cattle.*—Ownership of cattle is widespread in Cherán, but accurate knowledge of the extent 556 of ownership is impossible because of the tendency to conceal wealth. As most cattle are kept at pasture, usually in the mountains, house censuses are of no value. Possession of cattle seems to make little difference in the economic position of their owners. Wealthy men often own herds of some size which they do not appear to exploit to their fullest extent. Such men, though, probably gain some social prestige, for their bulls will be sought for use in the bull riding which forms an important part of the fiesta of the patron saint of Cherán.

231 Cattle are raised for several economic uses: meat, milk, draft animals, and sale outside the town. Somewhat different treatment is accorded animals raised for various purposes; consequently, separate discussion is indicated.

234 Relatively few cows are milked, and most families do not keep milk cows. There is no special breeding for milk cattle and a "very good" cow will not give over 2 liters of milk a day. The milk is sold in Cherán, usually for pregnant women or sick people, or it is made into cheese. Only a small part of the local demand for cheese is supplied in this fashion, however. No butter is made.

[462] Milking is done only by men, but women clean the milk containers, make the cheese, and may care for the animals. Milking is done by primitive methods; the cow is tethered closely at the head and the hind legs are tied together.

236 Although mutton is eaten to some extent, sheep are raised primarily for wool. Sheep [262] are sheared twice a year, in late fall and early summer. A sheep yields about 1 pound of wool [435] in two shearings, which sells at from $1.00 to $1.25 (all monetary values are in Mexican currency). Black wool brings more than white (as it is all used locally for serape weaving).

233 *Goats.*—Only a few goats are raised. Normally they are herded with the sheep and are [234] treated like them. In rare instances the goats are milked, and the milk is made into cheese. [438] The most important use of goats is to sell them for food, usually outside the town, as goat meat [262] is rarely eaten in Cherán. Goatskins are sold uncured with the hair.

231 *Horses.*—Although some horses are bred in Cherán and some care is exercised in breeding, it is said the animals deteriorate because of the cold climate. Consequently, most horses are imported, but they also deteriorate rapidly. More important than the cold, undoubtedly, is the fact that no one in Cherán understands the care of horses. They are badly fed and receive little protection from the weather. Stallions are castrated.

In any case, horses are rare in Cherán and [492] are little used except as riding animals, especially by those with numerous cattle or pack animals. Riding and pack gear are the same [184] as those of the Mestizos. Although in other [241] Tarascan towns horses are used in plowing, this was denied in Cherán. A rather poor [435] horse costs about 70 pesos. Most horses be- [556] long to well-to-do men and primarily are indicators of social position. Attitudes toward owning a horse are a weak reflection of those of the vanishing Mexican *caballero*. Women almost never ride.

Horses are fed maize, oats, maize stalks, and [232] wheat or oat straw. Few people have any knowledge of treating illnesses of horses. [422] Ownership is indicated by branding, and horses [552] are given names similar to those used by [262] Mestizos. Horse meat is not eaten, but horse [291] hides are valued for tanning.

Mules.—Mules are even rarer than horses and have a higher value. Almost all are im- [492] ported. They are used mostly as pack animals, but occasionally they are ridden or used with the plow.

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251 baskets. Such foods as sugar, coffee, salt, lard, fruits, vegetables, herbs, meat, fish, and manufactured foods such as bread are purchased in small quantities and are kept in various covered pottery or basket containers in the kitchen.

264 Eating habits show considerable variability as between families. They also change with
262 the season and the prevailing occupations.
184 Ordinarily three meals a day are eaten, at about 10 a. m., 2 p. m., and 7 p. m. or an hour later.
[556] Very poor people may eat only twice. The major foods are tortillas and other maize dishes, meat (or fish or cheese as substitutes), and green plants. In addition to these common foods, which may be prepared in various ways, there are various occasional or seasonal foods eaten as part of the regular diet, as well as foods eaten only or primarily on the occasion of a fiesta.

Two types of morning meal exist. The most common is a meal of tortillas and either meat or greens. This is varied every 4 to 8 days with some kind of atole. Some persons have taken over the local Michoacán habit of a boiled sweetpotato or a piece of bread and a glass of milk eaten early in the morning, at 7 or 8 o'clock. Such people usually eat the midday meal a little earlier in the day, between 12 and 1 o'clock. The midday meal is almost always a beef stew with cabbage (čurípo) eaten with tortillas. Those who cannot afford meat, eat some vegetable instead, often prepared with milk and sometimes with cheese also. The evening meal is usually the same as the midday meal. Prepared food may be kept over from one day to another.

Some people may eat only two meals, at about 10 a. m. and 7 p. m. The morning meal may consist of tortillas and beans or tortillas and chile sauce, varied frequently with atole, although no one would have atole daily. At night beans may be eaten if available; if not, boiled cabbage or čurípo is eaten, depending upon economic circumstances. Meat, eggs, fish, and game are rarely eaten by really poor people. Poor people often eat atapákua (squash blossoms and immature squash) with tortillas and ground dried fish or cheese if they have a midday meal. Between meals children or adults, if they feel hungry and the foods are available,

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262 It is believed to be injurious to eat any kind
252 of fish when ill of the "*bilis*."

Game is eaten to some extent when available. Deer meat is sold in pieces or in retail quantities by the hunters in much the same fashion as beef. Squirrels, doves, and ducks are all liked. Squirrels are sold at 10 centavos, doves at 5 centavos, and ducks at 50 centavos to 1 peso. Ducks come from Zacapu. A few people eat pigeons. Only adult pigeons are eaten.[15]

Eggs are eaten to a considerable extent, fried, mixed with fish, or scrambled with cheese. But poor families, even if they have chickens, prefer to sell the eggs and buy beans.

MAIZE FOODS

Maize is made into tortillas, *gordos*, posole, or tamales, and is also used to thicken some types of broths and sauces. It is also eaten green, and certain foods are made from green corn. No maize foods are salted. Maize types include white, yellow, red, and black, the latter two types not being common. White maize is sold chiefly outside the village.

Methods of initial preparation vary. For tortillas and *gordos* the maize is boiled with lime. This softens and to some extent dissolves the outer shell of the grain. After thorough washing in a special basket, it is ground into *nixtamal* or dough. If economically possible, grinding is done at the power mills in the town, followed by further grinding at home. Some people are too poor to pay for the mill, and the women do all the grinding on the metate.

[556]

Tortillas are made of the *nixtamal* or maize dough. A quantity is scooped off the metate and shaped into a flat disk in the hands. This is then skillfully slapped between the palms until it becomes a thin sheet about one-eighth inch in thickness and 6 or 7 inches in diameter. This sheet is baked on a dry flat clay dish, the *comal*, with moderate heat. Usually the tortilla is turned two or three times in the process. Tortillas are served at virtually every meal, regardless of the rest of the menu, and are the main article of diet.

Gordos are smaller and thicker cakes fried

[15] The people of Ichán in La Cañada are well known for their fondness for small wild birds such as *bengotes*, doves (*huilotas*), wild pigeons, *torcazas*, and *jarvinos*.

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BEVERAGES

272 Milk is drunk to a limited extent in season by those few who have cattle. If purchased, it is used mostly for cooking.[18]

Te de naranja is sometimes drunk. It is made by steeping the leaves of a particular member of the citrus family, either fresh or dried. The leaves must be imported in Cherán. In some other villages this is a regular breakfast drink, but in Cherán it is only an occasional drink.

Coffee is rarely drunk by the Tarascans. Most stores in Cherán do not carry it at all.

Aqua miel (urapi, urápiti, "white"), the unfermented juice of the maguey or *Agave americana*, is liked by some but is not very popular. It is usually available in quantities only in May. It is often drunk with sections of peeled orange, pieces of chile, and sliced onions sprinkled with ground red chile and salt. Fer-
[273] mented *pulque* is not at all popular, and what little is produced is mostly sent to Uruapan.

Aguardiente (čaránda) is the most common drink. This is simply unflavored sugarcane gin.

Amargo, a popular Cherán drink, is made by putting ground cinnamon bark, sugar, lemon juice, and lemon rind in a bottle of *aguardiente* for 2 or 3 days. It is taken before breakfast
[757] as a remedy in certain diseases (*reumas, bilis, espantos*).

263 Honey is produced to some extent. It is used mostly in making *atole blanco* or white atole and also as a treat for the children.

SOME FIESTA FOODS

262 Čápata is made by grinding black amaranth into dough and mixing with brown sugar. The blackish paste is spread on banana leaves. It is sold without cooking.

Mole of squash seeds is a luxury dish made
[556] only by the most wealthy and by the *carguero* of Natividad (Christmas). The sauce is made of ground squash seeds, *chile ancho*, tomatoes, spices, and bread for thickening. Beef or pork is the meat served in the sauce.

[273] Beer is sold in some stores, but it is not a common drink.

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[234] [18] In Chilchota no cheese or butter is made. Local milk is drunk or made into jojóke, milk thickened by heating. Cheese, butter, and other milk products are imported.

272 Carbonated drinks with artificial coloring
265 and flavoring are sold, particularly at two stands in the plaza where the buses stop. Lemon, orange, cherry, pineapple, and banana are the common flavors. The drinks are brought from Paracho or Uruapan and sell for 5 centavos a quarter-liter bottle. Consumption is small; the stores may have six or eight bottles for 6 months.

A refreshment of water, fruit flavorings, and sugar is also sold in the plaza. Ice is usually available only on Sundays. Only men of the town buy these refreshments when they are in funds and want to try something exotic. Most of the trade is with passersby in the buses, fortunately for the health of Cherán. Water ice is sold from door to door by one or two vendors. It is made locally whenever the dealer can secure ice from Uruapan. Home-made ices are sometimes made when the water in the troughs or streams freezes in the winter.

QUANTITIES AND COST OF FOODS

262 A mere list of foods and recipes has little meaning unless quantities are ascertained. Potentially the Cherán inhabitant has an adequate diet, but most of the population probably suffer from some dietary deficiency, either because of poverty or because of improper distribution and preparation of foods. Vitamin deficiencies probably are subacute to acute in many individuals. Qualitative and quantitative data of great accuracy were difficult to secure, but enough were obtained to be of some value as guides to dietary problems. Below are given some diets collected:

262 One of the poorest families in town, con-
511 sisting of 3 adults and 2 children, eats 2½
556 liters of maize daily, which costs 10 centavos. Once a week the family spends 5 to 10 centavos in chiles and every 3 or 4 days 3 to 5 centavos in cheese. On rather rare occasions, if the family is relatively prosperous for the moment, one-third to one-half liter of beans is purchased at a cost of 5 to 8 centavos. Eggs, meat, and some other items are almost never eaten. It is probable that some greens are eaten from time to time which were not noted by the reporter. Total food cost could average as little as 81½ centavos per week.

A poor family, but not in such desperate

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262 511 556 straits as the one mentioned above, would probably spend, in addition, 1 or 2 centavos daily for sugar, consumed in cinnamon tea, or 3 to 6 ounces of brown sugar for use in *atole blanco*. Atole would occasionally be made of milk, 3 to 5 centavos worth being bought. Such a family [758] would drink milk only in case of illness, when a sick person might get a pint or a little more each day.

A "middle class" family, consisting of 8 persons (2 adults, 6 children aged 4 to 16), eats about 3½ liters of maize daily, about 3 pounds of meat (a peso's worth) a week, and 10 centavos worth of cheese daily. In addition, about 25 centavos a day would be spent for other foods. (The data on the three diets given above were all collected by Sra. Silvia Rendón.)

What appeared to be two reliable quantitative records, covering 2-week periods, were obtained, the first for a wealthy family and the second for an average family. They are as follows:

Diet records of two families for 2-week period

1. Wealthy family, Don Hilaro Xhemba (10 persons in household):

Maize	111 liters
Meat	13 pounds
Cheese	2 pounds
Fruit	[1]$ 2.54
Milk	1.54
Chiles (about ½ dozen)	.03
Bread (15 pieces, whole wheat, about 4½ inches diameter, 1¼ inches thick)	.75
Beans (brown or red; little less than 3 liters)	.41
Fish (probably about ½ pound dried fish)	.21
Total expenditure	$12.50

2. Average family, Melquiades Romero (2 adults and 5 children):

Maize	75 liters
Meat	12 pounds
Fruit	[2]$0.96

[1] This amount seems high. It would be the cost of 50 to 75 oranges, small to medium size, but undoubtedly it was not all spent for oranges; in fact, it was much more probably spent for bananas, pears, and perhaps apples or peaches.

[2] Perhaps spent for 20 to 30 small to medium oranges, but probably mostly for bananas, peaches, pears, and apples.

In both cases recorded above, vegetables undoubtedly came out of the family garden and are not listed. Probably, from the distribution of purchases, this would mean cabbage daily, perhaps half a leaf per person, boiled with the

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262 511 556 meat. At this time of year there may have been a few meals with immature squash or wild herbs from the woods, stewed with perhaps a little milk or cheese and lard.

146 262 556 511 Evelyn Payne Hatcher kindly consented to attempt an analysis of the diet of Cherán. The results are full of guesswork, but they are at least suggestive. The results show that if yellow maize was used almost exclusively, the diet of a wealthy family would contain no outright deficiencies and in many respects provide more than the usual recommended minimum amounts of various vitamins and proteins and calories. A very poor family, on the other hand, would show a striking deficiency in vitamin B_1 and an inadequate caloric intake. Both diets would give a marked deficiency of vitamin A if white corn were used instead of yellow corn. Despite the inadequacy of the data, there seems little reason to doubt that in some cases, particularly among poor families, deficiencies in the diet are sufficiently large to have a pronounced effect upon behavior and cultural participation (Beals and Hatcher, 1943).

COMPARATIVE NOTES

262 556 511 Some interesting comparisons are afforded by data from other towns. The most complete information was secured from Chilchota in La Cañada.

Chilchota is a Mestizoized Indian town, i. e., the bulk of the population is of Indian descent but a number of Mestizos have moved in, the native language is scarcely spoken any longer, and the people regard themselves as non-Indian. Customs are closely similar to those in the nearby Indian towns, however. Following are some menus collected by Silvia Rendón (for Cherán menus, see Beals and Hatcher, 1943):

Chilchota menus

Luncheons (taken about 10 or 11 a. m.; no breakfast in this case):

Average household:

Broiled beef
Boiled beans
Black atole
Chile sauce
Tortillas

262 Chile sauce
Tortillas
511 Coffee (black)

556 Broiled beef
Chile sauce
Tortillas

Poor household:
Chile sauce
Tortillas

Broiled beef
Chile sauce
Tortillas

Very poor household:
Greens of wheat plants (boiled)
Tortillas

Wealthy household:
Pork cooked with chile
Fried beans
Tortillas

Fried pork
Boiled beans
Milk
Tortillas

Pork cooked in chile sauce (mole?)
Fried beans
Tortillas
Black coffee

Dinners (2 p. m. or later):
Average household:
Meat broth with cabbage (cooked)
Meat (beef) from which broth was made
Boiled beans
Tortillas

Meat broth with cabbage
Boiled beans
Rice, cooked in water

Pork broth (with rice and bitter *tunas* or prickly pears)
Rice boiled in water
Beans
Tortillas

Fried rice with tomatoes
Pork in chile sauce
Tortillas

Poor household:
Broth
Meat from the broth
Beans boiled with chile and silantro
Tortillas

Wealthy household:
Meat broth
Meat (different from that from which broth was made) cooked with chile
Beans
Tortillas

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262 Suppers (about 7 o'clock in the evening):
511
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Average household:

Boiled beans
Chile sauce
Tortillas

Boiled beans
Chile sauce
Tortillas

Boiled beans
Whole-wheat bread
Black coffee

Boiled beans
Tortillas
Milk

Very poor household:

Beans
Posole (hominy, probably with a little boiled meat)
Tortillas

Wealthy household:

Boiled beans
Tortillas
Chile sauce
Whole-wheat bread
Black coffee

Boiled beans
Tortillas
Chile sauce
Broiled meat
Milk

Fairly common suppers are tamales (with or without meat) and atole or coffee or a piece of bread (a whole-wheat bread slightly seasoned) and a cup of tea made from the herb nurite or a type of orange leaf.

In all cases quantities are probably small, except of tortillas. Rarely would more than one piece of bread be eaten, perhaps 2 to 3 ounces at most; perhaps half a cup to a cup of beans; meat, if broiled or boiled, two pieces about 1½ inches in greatest dimension—if in sauce, perhaps a couple of tablespoonfuls with the sauce.[19]

With substitution of different foods, these would represent Cherán menus on the whole, although there would not be so much meat with breakfast-luncheon, but rather atole, while the meat broth and meat would more commonly be served together.

At the Indian town of Sopoco in La Cañada, the following midday meals were observed:

[19] See Appendix 1 for more data on Chilchota.

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262 Boiled broadbeans
511 Tortillas
556 Eggs cooked on the *comal*
Fried herbs with chile sauce
Tortillas
Boiled broadbeans
Boiled beans
Tortillas

262 184 *Further comparative notes (collected by Silvia Rendón)*—Possibly because Capacuaro is a smaller village with extensive woods close by, more wild animals are used for food. These include doves, *huilotas*, bird eggs (kuašanda), rabbits, flying squirrels, squirrels (kuiníkes), deer, gophers (khumás), wood rats (heyáki), peccary, jackrabbits (apácis), foxes, armadillos, bee larvae, larvae of a ground dwelling bee (*jicoteras*), worms from unidentified plants (talpanal), fresh water crawfish (čapus), wild crab apple worms (kauaš), and *tlacuache* (takuače). It is to be suspected that in Cherán, where persons closely associated with the woods are not often in the town, our list of wild animal products eaten is much shorter than it should be, although it probably represents the common diet.

[264] Two meals a day are eaten, at 11 o'clock in the morning and in the evening at varying times. In one house the morning meal was tortillas and beans; in another, coffee and bread; in a third, coffee and tortillas sweetened with brown sugar; in a fourth, atole nuríte and tortillas; in a fifth, chile sauce, boiled greens, and tortillas. The second meal most commonly consists of squash or chayotes, meat broth with cabbage, meat and chile, and tortillas.

Special dishes not already reported include the following:

Tamalitos de čápata, small tamales of black amaranth seeds (čapata; the plant is puári), made to sell in Uruapan at three for 5 centavos. The seeds are ground and cooked in maize leaves like tamales.

Ičuskata, *gordos* filled with beans, for sale in Uruapan at 5 centavos each.

Yurúričúskatas, *gordos* made of maize dough mixed with brown sugar. In cooking, a number of pebbles are put in the *comal* and the *gordos* are placed on top of these so they cook more slowly.

Toasted tortillas (harípukata), eaten frequently at meals.

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471 Ownership of livestock similarly poses ques-
556 tions. The wealthy man who keeps a consider-
able number of bulls whose main use seems to be to enhance his social prestige by having the bulls selected for riding at a fiesta may also sell them for beef if he needs money for productive enterprises. Sheep are capital in much the same sense that land is capital. A yoke of oxen or a burro may be used to aid production and are also rented. A horse, on the other hand, is close to a "conspicuous expenditure."

471 Probably the minimal capital required in Cherán is for the production of certain services. A water carrier needs only two 25-liter oil cans, a bit of rope, and a piece of wood to make a [313] yoke. A *tabla* maker (one producing heavy hewn planks or beams) needs only an ax and some oak wedges he cuts out himself, and 10 [474] pesos to join the cooperative (formerly he would have needed only enough to pay the tax for use of communal lands). A digging stick and a knife would suffice to gather *raiz de paja*, while herbs need only a bit of cloth to tie them in. At the other extreme are the owners of threshing machines, *nixtamal* mills, or trucks, the latter requiring a cash outlay of between 8 and 10 thousand pesos.

For the farmer, aside from land, very few capital goods are necessary. Ox teams and plows may be rented and paid for out of the crop; even land may be secured on a sharecrop basis. A special *machete* for weeding is, in fact, the only indispensable tool. Such farming, however, will bring a relatively small return, probably little, if any, more than could be earned by a hired laborer.

At the other extreme, a landowner, farming his own land, should own an ox team, yoke, plow, *machete*, burros, and nets for transporting the crop, adequate storage facilities, and sufficient cash to hire labor at crucial periods such as planting and harvesting. A man so situated will reap the best possible return from his labor.

The major investment of a farmer is in land, storage facilities, and livestock. His ox yoke and plow he may make himself, and the few metal tools needed are not costly. In general, the investment in tools and equipment is much less than that required in manufacturing or some service occupations. A sewing machine

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471 is more costly than all the farmer's tools, especially the heavy type required to make hats. Even the sandal maker's lasts, hammers, and knives probably are more expensive than farm equipment.

CREDIT, LOANS, AND INTEREST

452 No organized credit facilities exist in the village, but money loans are sometimes made.
426 Storekeepers are perhaps the only group who consistently make use of credit and who also often make loans if they have capital. The major use of credit by storekeepers is to buy goods, especially cloth. Sometimes a down payment is made on cloth, the balance being paid when the cloth is sold. This facility seems to be extended primarily by wholesalers in
[437] Purépero. Most ordinary store transactions, whether buying or selling, are for cash.

One storekeeper also makes cash loans, mainly to butchers and *nixtamal* operators, who are apt to need considerable sums for a short time. The reported interest rate is 10 percent a month.

Other credit transactions are of two kinds. Most significant is the lending of money for which lands are given as security, known as the *empeño de terrenos*. In this type of transaction, the lender takes possession of the lands and utilizes them until the debt is repaid. The owner in the meantime must pay all taxes on the land. In other cases the lender does not take possession of the lands unless the debt is not repaid at the end of a term agreed upon. In either case, should the land have a standing crop at the time the lender takes possession, the crop is divided equally between the borrower and lender. There are some cases, although relatively few compared with the situation in many parts of Mexico, where lands have been held and cultivated by the lender for many years.[22] The owners have been unable to pay the debt but have continued year after year paying the taxes, in hopes ultimately of redeeming the land.

[423]
[556]

[22] In some parts of Mexico this is an extremely common form of exploitation. I have been told of regions where families have acquired control of large areas by encouraging small landowners to go into debt to them. The lenders have, in effect, established *haciendas*, but have been overlooked in the general agrarian reforms because the lands appear on the government records as belonging to numerous small owners. Often, ironically enough, the landowners are hired laborers working their own property in a futile effort to redeem their debts, but they never succeed in doing more than maintaining a large estate tax-free for the wealthy *hacendado*.

494 left in a single load. As yet, though, the most important influence of the highway is the frequent bus service. The regular buses, connecting with buses for Guadalajara, and going directly to or from Morelia, and Mexico City, pass through to and from Uruapan about once an hour during the day. In addition, smaller buses from Uruapan to Purépero and Nahuatzen pass by several times a day. As a consequence, individual vendors often go to market by bus. Women take foodstuffs or herbs to Uruapan for the Sunday market regularly. Others may visit the market at Paracho merely as a recreation. Not a few in the village have made a trip or two to Mexico City.

556 Modern transport has even reached into Cherán itself. Three of the more well-to-do
494 men in the town have purchased a 1½-ton truck, which carries freight to Uruapan or Morelia at 1½ centavos a kilo. On Sundays it also operates as a "wildcat" (i.e., unlicensed) bus to Paracho. The fare is 25 centavos plus a charge for bulky bundles; for example, 20 centavos for three bundles of palm leaves.
[661] Although trucks are not supposed to carry passengers, a satisfactory working arrangement has been made with the traffic police.

STOREKEEPERS

443 Cherán is unique among large Tarascan towns in that virtually all storekeepers are natives. A few of the storekeepers are large farmers whose families run a store on the side, but most of them made their start as storekeepers although they may now also be farmers. As one of the successful storekeepers explained, less capital is required to start a store than is needed to buy adequate farm lands. According to this same informant, if a man has fifty pesos, he can get a hundred pesos worth of goods, and if he has a place to operate, he is established in business. Moreover, the work is not as hard as farming. In addition, as people in Cherán have the same idea of living standards, business volume in most stores is small, so small that it is said not to have attracted the Mestizos.
[511] It is asserted that only those accustomed to Tarascan living standards and ways can succeed in making a living as a storekeeper in Cherán.

The more able storekeepers not only sell

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511 The motivations of consumption appear several. Primary is the need of food, shelter,
181 and clothing. For very poor families, this is virtually the only type of consumption. Food requirements are intimately linked with productive efforts. The basic necessities by Cherán standards are mostly produced by the family unit, and the processes are apart from the system of commerce and exchange. Any family unit regarded as meeting Cherán standards of living will also have other consumption motivations. Participation in the social and religious life of the community is perhaps the second most important consumption motive. Crisis periods, especially marriage, and the possession of a *mayordomía* are occasions for consumption of goods, often on a very large scale. Such consumption, however, comes not entirely in the category of "conspicuous expenditure" but rather as the fulfilling of a social duty. It is true that the wedding ceremony is designed to emphasize public display of the consumption involved; nevertheless, failure to give as elaborate a wedding as the means of a family justified would suggest to the inhabitants of Cherán either that the family was stingy or that the family disapproved of the match. Yet another interpretation might be that they did not regard the girl as socially acceptable, either because of the poverty of her family or because of her reputation. In one case observed, the bride's mother, a poor widow with few relatives, prepared to finance part of the wedding herself when she found the wealthy family of the groom was planning a modest ceremony. In this case
[626] the threatened action of the bride's mother precipitated so much gossip and unfavorable comment that the groom's family at the last minute greatly increased its expenditures for the wedding (and the bride's mother, incidentally, did not have to carry out her threats).

● 556 In general, wealthy people do not display
511 their wealth ostentatiously except through undertaking the more expensive *mayordomías* and giving the most elaborate weddings. Often the houses of wealthy persons are less pretentious than are those of the middle class. A man of the latter class with a large family may well operate a much more elaborate establishment than the wealthy man with a small family. The wealthy are apt to be envied in

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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556 511 [669] Cherán, it is clear. Memories of the more violent revolutionary days are close enough that people conceal their wealth rather than display it. That this was not always the case is evidenced by the considerable number of ruined stone buildings, homes of the wealthy before the revolution. Today wealthy men live modestly. Their table differs primarily in quantity rather than in quality from that of the poor. Wealthy men dress like others, unless they are going to Uruapan or Zamora. Their wives wear better quality clothes, as a rule, than do other women, and on special occasions they display more and better jewelry. There [357] are few servants in Cherán, and their place is taken by dependent relatives or orphans who are members of the family.

The major methods of conspicuous expenditure acceptable in Cherán are quite stereotyped. Perhaps most common is to be sponsor of a moro dancer or to be responsible for some phase of a fiesta, posts assigned by the *municipio* rather than sought after by the individual. The ownership of cattle which can be used for cattle riding in the town fiesta is another socially approved method of ostentation. Ownership of a horse is also permissible, but it is considered that only a few wealthy men really need horses—men with distant lands or herds that must be visited frequently. The man who buys a horse without really needing it is considered to be "showing off." In the main, the methods of ostentatious consumption not only are communally recognized and approved but are restricted to specific social occasions. In ordinary life there is little to distinguish one Cherán man or family from another, if one except the very poor.

VALUE AND PRICE

435 The values of the major commodities and services in Cherán are expressed in monetary terms. Perhaps the only significant exceptions are the services rendered by relatives and *compadres* in connection with house moving and various fiestas, services rendered the community, and the goods which are exchanged at betrothals and weddings. In the latter case, wholly fictitious values are placed on the goods exchanged, but even here the equation is ultimately made to money values. With these

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178 435 494 Tables 8 and 9 give the prices of some goods and products. Although little evidence is yet visible at Cherán, at Chilchota in La Cañada, where the highway has been in use longer, it was said that the price of chickens had risen from 50 centavos to $1.50 with corresponding rises in other products.

TABLE 8.—*Prices of some important goods and products in Cherán*

435

Goods or products	Number or quantity	Price
Maize (shelled)	Liter	$0.04–$0.07
	Fanega	5.00– 7.00
Wheat	Medida	.55
	Carga	23.00–27.00
Beans	Liter	.15– .26
Squash	Each	.25– .50
Cabbage	do	.03– .08
Pears	Per 100	2.00– 3.00
Peaches	do	.40
Honey	Half liter	.30
Wax	Kilo	2.25– 2.50
Bread	(2, small	.05
	1, large	.10
Raix de Paja	Kilo	2.25– 2.50
Beef	do	.70
Pig (fattened for butchering)	1 (live)	40.00–75.00
Sheep	do	2.50– 5.00
Charcoal	Kilo	.02– .03
Planks	Dozen	6.00– 7.00
Railroad ties (Oak, pine, or fir)	Each	.60
Shakes (5 *cuartas* long)	Bundle (400)	5.00 and up
Handwoven wool cloth	Yard	1.00

[1] In Zamora or *tierra caliente*.

WEALTH AND PROPERTY

● 556 423 The major wealth of Cherán is forest and agricultural land. As has been indicated previously, all lands capable of permanent cultivation are privately owned, the remainder belonging to the community and being open to the use of all community members. One informant mentioned a possible exception to this statement, saying that the one large land holding of prerevolutionary Cherán has been taken by the Government and offered for sale to Cherán residents. The informant believed some lands in this holding were still unsold, but no further information was secured. In any case, the incident does not alter the fundamental pattern of Cherán land holding.

556 422 In terms of individual wealth, the basic Cherán concepts are those of rural Mexico. Wealth is primarily land and silver. Cattle loom less important, partly because they are not owned in large numbers, partly because the revolutionary period taught the people of Cherán that cattle are a less stable form of wealth. The man who owns sufficient land, however, has an essentially inalienable resource by which any losses of less stable types of

556
422 property may be made up. Even silver is less safe, for someone may find the buried hoard and steal it. In addition, it is not productive. He who harvests from 50 to 100 *cargas* of maize is wealthy; while the man who harvests from 8 to 15 *cargas* may regard himself as a typical Cherán citizen.

Houses and buildings are also a form of wealth. The traditional type of house is owned apart from the land and is frequently bought and sold apart from the land. This is not true, of course, of stone or adobe buildings. Except for the somewhat greater difficulty of moving

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556 422 them, houses are essentially portable property like furniture, tools, or cattle.

424 556 Little exists in the way of incorporeal property in Cherán. Perhaps the most important instances are the possession of knowledge of dances or of the texts for the dialogue in such performances as the *pastorela*. Theoretically anyone might pick up this knowledge, but there seems a tacit understanding that this should not be done without the permission of the owner. Such knowledge is valuable, as such persons are paid by the *mayordomos* to teach the performers.

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[p.Ra] Sierra Tarascans

556 424 Other types of incorporeal property possibly are the knowledge of the herb gatherers, midwives, and witches. However, there is no sense of property in Cherán concerning this knowledge, and the idea of buying or selling it was not encountered. Such knowledge seems not to be differently regarded from the knowledge of how to farm or to care for animals or make bread.

421 778 556 A unique type of property right is the ownership of certain images of saints and of *mayordomías*. Two cases were encountered. One is the ownership of the *mayordomía* of the Three Kings (*Los Tres Reyes*), January 6. Several men were instrumental in starting this *mayordomía*, formerly celebrated only by the dance of the Europeans (*danza de los Europeos*). Not only did these men put on the first *mayordomía*, they put up funds, aided by contributions, to secure a fine set of images for the *mayordomía*. In subsequent years they decided who should receive the *mayordomía* each year. As one of them said to me, "It looks like this *mayordomía* is going to be a good business." However, he spoke in figurative terms, for, so far as could be learned, the "owners" of the *mayordomía* expected to receive only spiritual rewards and perhaps community approbation.

The second case is the ownership of a miraculous saint. The owners found the saint, erected a chapel, and receive contributions from worshippers. The owners claim that all gifts go to clothe the saint properly and care for the chapel, a statement that is open to doubt although there is no evidence to the contrary.

556 The distribution of wealth in Cherán appears to be relatively equitable. Certainly there are no really wealthy men in Cherán and there are relatively few impoverished individuals. So long as wealth is measured in land and most families in Cherán have a reasonable amount of land, this condition will continue. It is true that people in Cherán talk a great deal about *los ricos* (the rich men). In practice, almost no one can readily identify the rich men. Partly, of course, this is because rich men, in order to avoid envy, are careful not to flaunt their wealth. But it also is an indication that really wealthy men are probably scarce, if not absent. One of the regular assistants, Pedro Chávez, talked constantly about

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

556 the rich. Repeated efforts to pin him down resulted in the identification of not a single individual as a *rico* and the assertion that anyone who harvested 50 to 100 *cargas* of maize is a rich man. As this means a cash income from this source of around $300 to $600 or $700 a year, the standard is not high, although probably wheat, cattle, and other sources add to such income. It is worth observing that almost no storekeepers are classed as wealthy—they usually do not have much land.

428 The inheritance of property in Cherán is normally from parent to children. Should an individual die without formal disposition of his property, the municipal officials would endeavor (subject to whatever influences might be brought to bear on them) to divide the property equally among children without regard to sex. Normally, however, the heirs would make the division, and it would merely be submitted to the *municipio* for approval. In this way inequalities often creep in through domination of one heir by another and the desire to avoid a fight.

It is quite common in Cherán for the property to be disposed of by the owner before death by making a will or, more commonly, by making a statement of intention to a reliable and trusted friend before witnesses. Such decisions will be respected and enforced by the *municipio*.

Property owned by women will ordinarily go to their children. However, should a couple be childless, the spouse does not inherit. There are numerous cases in Cherán of well-to-do couples where the bulk of the property is owned by the wife. Although the husband uses and administers the property, he has no rights in it unless it is formally made over to him by his wife during her life time. Similarly, a widow does not inherit except in special cases. This, again, involves a will or making over of the property during the life of the owner. Usually such an act is taken by a man only when his sons are rebellious and unfilial.

There are frequent cases where men do not leave property equally to all children or where they leave it to some other relative. In rare cases, there may have been some assignment of property to children before death. Then the child, usually the youngest, who has cared for the parent in old age, receives all the remaining

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425 The grandfather died while the Rangels were
428 living in the United States, and a brother moved the house onto his land. The Rangels returned some 27 years later and claimed the house, producing papers to show that it had been purchased. This was the first the brother had known of the transaction, and he was not only angry but refused to surrender the house until forced to do so by the *municipio*. This did not smooth family relations.

428 Other instances illustrate and bear out the
578 assertion that most of the conflicts in Cherán are over inheritance. For example, a woman
675 on her death bed divided her property as follows: A lot and certain lands to each son, three lands divided among her three daughters (one married, two small), and a house (*"troje"*) to be sold to pay the marriage expenses of the unmarried daughters. A few years later a brother tried to sell the house, and the girls appealed to the witnesses. The witness spoke to an uncle, who forced the brother to give up the idea.

428 Even in those few cases in Cherán in which
593 sons remain in the family group and which function as joint families, the group dissolves
768 immediately on the death of the father. Informants were unanimous and positive on this point, despite the fact that before the father's death the elder brother usually will have been handling the communal treasury and acting as head of the family.

428 All inheritances are supposed to be registered
217 at the *municipio*. This is certainly done where an outsider is called in to make the division.
425 Then each heir is required to sign (or someone signs for the heir before witnesses) a statement that he accepts the division. Evidently most property transactions of any sort are so registered. It should be noted that registration of a property transaction in the *municipio* is quite apart from registering lands with the tax collector and there is no connection between the two offices. Land not registered for taxes may be sold and the sale recorded by the *municipio*.

181 Even though many details of the economic
556 system of Cherán are still not known in detail, some observations seem possible. The Cherán economic system has important relations within a general Tarascan economic system and also

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with the larger national economy. Some of the deficiencies of this report spring from the fact that study of these larger economic systems has not yet been made. It is apparent that the Cherán system functions in considerable part as a money economy and that in many respects it is essentially a European type economy.

Nevertheless, there are some differences of possible significance. Despite the fact the economy may be studied in monetary terms, wealth concepts do not revolve wholly about money and its values. Land itself has a surprisingly low money value, yet it is the major basis for evaluating individual wealth. Maize also occupies a higher position than its money value would indicate. Money is valued after maize, not before it, and the man who has money but no maize is apt to be regarded as

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THE COMMUNITY

The community of Cherán may be viewed in several ways. There are, first of all, the physical attributes of the town, its layout, subdivisions, and boundaries. There are the objective characteristics of the people who occupy the area, their numbers, demographic characteristics, and groupings. Yet other aspects of the community are the bonds which hold it together and the groupings within which the individual functions as a part of the larger entity—the family, the kinship group, the various institutions such as the *compadrazgo*. The organization of the community politically is also of great importance: the structure of government, its management, organization, functions, and obligations. Finally, there looms important in Cherán the ceremonial and religious organization. Although logically forming a part of this section, discussion of the latter is deferred for a separate treatment.

THE MUNICIPIO

Cherán is, first of all, a *municipio*, an administrative unit, smaller than the usual county in the United States but having somewhat similar characteristics. The ordinary *municipio* in Michoacán consists of a *cabecera* or head town, somewhat similar to our county seat in functions. In most Tarascan *municipios* about half

[text continues on middle of p. 91b]

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181 poor indeed if there should be a maize shortage.
556 Even in normal times, the man who has to buy maize is pitied, even though he has plenty of money.

Although further analysis might be desirable, it also seems that the emphasis on nonproductive expenditures is higher in Cherán than in our own culture. The outlay in cash and goods involved in religious festivals, weddings, and similar events, seems much higher proportionately. Men often forego material advantage also for the spiritual rewards of offices connected with the church, an aspect which has not yet been discussed but which will be described later in detail. It seems doubtful if the motivations in these cases correspond entirely to those of the "conspicuous expenditures" of our own society.

THE COMMUNITY

632 the population live in the *cabecera*. Subordi-
634 nate to the *cabecera* ordinarily are a number of *tenencias*, villages of several hundred to more than a thousand population, and rancherias or other small units. All these subordinate units are administered from the *cabecera* through local, appointed delegates, the *jefes de tenencia*. Theoretically the residents in the *tenencias* and other units play an equal part with the inhabitants of the *cabecera*; in practice, government is controlled from the *cabecera*.

Cherán differs from the usual pattern in that the *municipio* consists of the *cabecera* and one small rancheria. Cherán, the town, is thus about twice as large as most Tarascan *cabeceras*, although the *municipio* has about the same population as others. Formerly the situation was somewhat different, with the *tenencia* of Cheranástico forming part of the *municipio*. As the result of circumstances to be related later, the people of Cheranástico withdrew from the *municipio* of Cherán and now form part of the *municipio* of Paracho. Had the population of Cheranástico been sufficiently large, it might even have become a separate *municipio*. The withdrawal of Cheranástico emphasizes the fact that *cabeceras* and *tenencias* have their respective boundaries within the larger limits of the *municipio*.

167 war may well have caused a new migration to the United States, for many persons were eager to return if they could be sure of employment. Such a movement, however, would not have the sociological significance of a movement arising more directly out of local conditions. There is no tendency as yet to develop primogeniture in farm holdings. Should farm holdings become so reduced in size as to be indivisible from the Cherán viewpoint, though, it is possible that some such pattern as that of the Irish peasant or the French Canadian might develop the more readily, in view of the already existing tradition of migration.

565 Class or caste stratification is almost un-
known in Cherán. There still remains much
556 of the tradition of town unity so characteristic of Mexican Indian and, to some extent, of rural Mestizo towns. There is much talk of rich and poor but, as indicated in the discussion of economics, a rich man is one who harvests 50 to 100 cargas of maize. A list made out by a "radical" informant contained 14 names, and several people to whom the list was shown agreed that it was approximately correct. Fourteen "ricos" in a town of some 5,000 is hardly a class, particularly when the standards are so low. Formerly these wealthy men would have tended to occupy most of the town offices, but today this is not the case. As one informent put it, "We now elect moderately poor people as persons who know work and necessity better and who will thus better discharge the work of their office." Wealthy men are still accorded a modicum of respect and relatively little envy. Only two of the rich men are considered to have inherited all their property, and the others are believed to have reached their present state either wholly or partly by
[555] their own efforts. This fact also probably limits envy and dislike. The only occasion when the wealthy form a group is at State and national elections, when, with the storekeepers and a few others, they are apt to be on the more conservative side.

565 The most influential group at present in Cherán is probably not the wealthy, but the middle class—people who were valiant in fighting against the psuedo-agrarians who once dominated the village, who help the village with money when things are needed, and who "think

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776 sometimes as a *bulto* (indistinct form) which whistles to people and gets them to follow it until they are lost in the woods. One informant, named Juan, said he had been seized in the Cerro del Aire and was able to escape only by recommending himself to the patron saint, San Juan. Otherwise he would have fallen in a cave where the devil could have seized him.

[556] In Urén in La Cañada it is said that the miriŋgua appears where money has been hidden. If someone gets rich suddenly it is said that "he has encountered the miriŋgua." The miriŋgua is also said to appear in the shape of dog or cat, but these are really disguised witches.

356 When houses are repaired or reconditioned, it is customary to hang up flowers, usually fastening the flowers to strings which are looped over doorways and windows. The practice was said to be customary and no beliefs concerning it could be discovered.

782 When the rains are late in coming in May,
789 the image of one of the saints is taken to the top of the Sierra San Marcos, south of town. There the image is raised up and down several times and *cohetes* are fired. Even sceptics admit it usually rains soon after this; some of the naive attribute the rain to the *cohetes*, others to the proximity of the rainy season.

821 When the mountain of Pilón, east of town, has mist on top, it is going to rain, say many. The early rains come from the direction of Pilón, the later from the direction of San Marcos.

787 If people are seated and a dog comes and
825 howls, some misfortune may befall the people. The coyote has magical power over animals. If he just gives himself a shake, the chickens will walk over to him and let themselves be eaten.

A person who finds a dead deer in the mountains which he has not killed will have some misfortune befall his family. A son, brother, parent, etc., will certainly die, and there is no way of averting the misfortune.

If a coyote crosses the road in front of one, it is a sign some misfortune will occur.

A blue-bellied lizard found occasionally in Cherán is believed to be able to jump on a person's back without his knowing it and burrow inside. It leaves a blue lizard mark on the

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.188 b]
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585 the majority of persons were rather proud of the amount they had spent. Unquestionably, a wedding is the most extensive and ostentatious 556 display of wealth and social position that exists 585 in Cherán. Attempts in the past by outsiders to suppress the *costumbres* are almost always taken as attempts to suppress the weddings first of all and are met by sullen and dogged resistance. The reaction of Emilio Rojas, godfather of the bride in the Samuel Santa Clara wedding, is fairly typical:

> The custom here is pleasant, except people get very drunk. Well, not everyone, but some. It is good to take something, but not to the point of drunkenness. It is good to dance and be gay. Besides, I like weddings because I always sell something in the way of clothing. [Don Emilio is a storekeeper.]

The social prestige factors involved in weddings revolve about several aspects of the ceremonies. One is the sheer factor of display already mentioned. Whenever any group of people goes through the streets in connection with the wedding, it is accompanied by a band. Furthermore, a direct route is rarely followed. Often a circuitous route two or three times as long as the direct route is used.

Another aspect is the display and exchange of clothing and bread. Every effort is made to show the amount of bread being brought and the quantity of clothing to be exchanged. The clothing is carried on trays, usually lacquered, or in baskets either in the arms or on the head. The majority of the participants bearing clothing come in a single large procession which always makes a special effort to traverse as much of the town as is possible without making the ostentation too evident. The women bearing clothing all sit together for a time after arriving at the groom's house and spread out their clothing to make it look as impressive as possible.

The clothing exchange also has an economic aspect, for the investment involved is very considerable. To some extent, though, the gifts are formalized. Clothing for wedding gifts is usually not as well made as regular clothing. Furthermore, a large part of it is kept for exchange in future weddings. Only if a family does not expect to have any relatives marry for some time to come will it actually use the clothing, unless it is very poor and in need of the

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garments. Alternatively, some of the clothing may be sold if it is not apt to be needed for gifts. Informants estimated that each garment was exchanged two or three times; probably the estimate is conservative.

The third aspect of the wedding display involves the number of persons who attend. Every relative must attend a wedding if he does not wish to create hard feeling. Should a relative fail to appear, his own functions such as weddings, house movings, house roofings, or *mayordomías* would be boycotted by the persons he had affronted. At the wedding of the daughter of such a person as Rosalio Sánchez, representative of the town, very large numbers of nonrelatives attended in order to show their liking or admiration for the father. Friendship is likewise clearly demonstrated by attending the wedding of a nonrelative.

Resentment and avoidance seem to be the only methods of retaliation for neglect at Cherán. In many other towns there are probably more direct methods. In Charapan, at least, relatives who do not attend a wedding are sought out by their fellows and forcibly brought to the wedding where they have to parade through the kitchen bearing a water bucket.

Essential to every wedding, even the simplest, is the marriage manager. In a larger wedding the arrangements are too complex to be known properly to most people and the successful carrying out of the wedding depends on his ability. A fee is paid the marriage manager for his services; the amount apparently was not ascertained, for it does not appear in the notes, but it probably is fairly generous, for the most active of the few marriage managers, Gregorio Castillo, is a fairly prosperous individual.

As a neutral third party, the marriage manager also smooths over differences of opinion more successfully than the principals could ordinarily do face to face. This is especially marked when the bride's father is annoyed with the theft of his daughter. For example, at one "pardon," the father had left for the mountains and only an uncle of the girl was in the house. He claimed to be sick and refused to come out of the house for some time. When he did, he gave evidence of anger. Then Don Gregorio

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[p.1946]

291 based on actual inventories of a few middle-class homes and persons.

343 In addition to a house and kitchen, which constitute the Cherán minimum of decent housing, there are also many other structures to be built, mostly by the man himself. If he has burros or cattle, he will have a shed used as a stable when the animals are kept at the house. A pigpen is usually built of small poles, often with a shake roof over all or part of it and an opening to the street. Additional storage space for fodder or straw is often provided, usually a pole construction roofed with shakes. The lot needs to be fenced with poles and the street side preferably should have a wall of stone or stone topped with adobe bricks. A substantial gate with a sheltering roof is regarded as a virtual necessity.

593 Most of the family life goes on in the kitchen.
342 Cooking, eating, and sleeping all take place in the one structure. In fine weather, people may sit outside or sit on the porch of the house. Guests may sleep in the house, and when a son marries he and his bride will occupy the house for a year or more. Much of the business of living takes place in the lot, in the fields and mountains, and in the streets of the town.

593 When children come, the acquisitive activities of the family become even more important.
556 Now, not only is there a desire to secure the minimum of housing, food, and clothing, as
581 well as the property to make these things possible, but there is the urge to obtain resources with which to start the children out in life. Efforts are made to obtain additional fields and to buy lots so that when the children marry they can immediately have their own home and their own means of subsistence in what Cherán residents regard as the most satisfactory way, that is, by possessing sufficient farm lands.

593 As solid citizens the family members will also have additional responsibilities. At least
556 one out of four families will hold a *mayordomía* at some time. The father will also serve as
554 *comisionado* for various fiestas, perform some community labor, and serve on the night watch. He may also take some position in the church organization or occupy some office in the municipal government. If he can read and write he almost certainly will at some time be chosen for an office.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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Pátzcuaro

175 621 [565] fitted into the class system of colonial Mexico.

Every Indian community was also a cultural unit and had a large degree of cultural distinctiveness. These cultures, however, were also strongly influenced by national, economic, governmental and religious institutions. They are characterized as folk or local peasant cultures.

175 621 423 The other main type of social unit in rural Mexico was the privately owned estate, in Spanish, *hacienda*. Haciendas can be included in Sorokin's Type 5 of rural communities: "a latifundian, manorial, or large estate type of rural agregate (privately owned)."[6] The conflict between these two types of social units, pueblo and hacienda, is the essence of the history of rural Mexico. During this conflict the village communities receded in the face of the growing haciendas, while within the villages the trend was toward individualization of landownership and toward becoming Sorokin's Type 3, i. e. "a rural aggregate of individual farmer-owners."[7]

* * *

175 621 423 The colonial village community was the primary economic unit, to some extent self-sufficient but never completely so. In a society based on agriculture, it was the main landowning unit. Every village community had the following kinds of communal land: *fundo legal*, the site on which the town was built; *ejido*, land for the common use of all the villagers (mainly woods and pasture lands); *tierras de repartimiento*, land owned by the community but allotted for the personal use of the villagers; and finally *propios*, lands which were communally worked, or more frequently rented out. The produce of these was kept as a community fund (*caja de comunidad*) and used to defray municipal expenses.[8] Important among these expenses are those related to the organization of the cult and the support of the Church.[9]

175 [241] [463] Agriculture was the economic basis of most of these communities. Many household crafts were also of great importance. In some industries, products were consumed in the household; in others, they [438] were traded over certain areas. There was much town specialization in those crafts which involved intense commerce.

175 556 For various reasons differences in wealth came to exist within the community: The Indian nobility kept some of their private

6. *Ibid.*, 563.
7. *Ibid.*, 563.
8. Mendieta y Núñez, 1934, 53-70; Haring, 1947, 174-8.
9. Chávez Orozco, 1934, *passim*; 1943, Chapter 3.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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175 holdings.[10] Commerce also must have
[556] caused some inequality in wealth. Furthermore, it seems that the lands for distribution were not redistributed at certain intervals of time. Private property prevailed
175 within the community, although the prop-
423 erty title was vested in the community and outsiders were excluded from ownership. This internal organization of private property among community members allowed some concentration of land. From early times all these factors produced differences in wealth within the villages, but the communal ownership of land, always basic,
[621] maintained the solidarity of the villagers, as against outsiders.

175 The Indian communities were provided
624 with an adaptation of the system of government in Spanish townships:

> "From one to four Indian *regidores* and one or two Indian *alcaldes*, depending on the size of the pueblo, were to be chosen each year in the presence of the priest and the local *corregidor* (later subdelegate), and relieved during their term of office of tribute and personal services. The alcaldes shared jurisdiction with the hereditary native chief or *cacique*, were aided by one or more Indian *alguaciles*, sometimes collected the local tribute, and had authority to make arrests and punish minor offenses such as drunkenness and failure to attend mass."[11]

175 The actual functioning of this system is
624 documented for early times.[12]
565 With the Spanish conquest the higher strata of Indian society and the related culture disappeared, but the Spaniards also granted to the Indian nobles, mainly to the town chiefs (caciques), privileges which allowed them to survive for a long time as a privileged group within the Indian communities.

This surviving Indian nobility first had the prerogative of filling higher offices in town government. Conflict on this point arose very early because of the impoverishment of the Indian nobles and the commoners' reluctance to obey them.[13] On the other hand we know that Indian nobles kept a great amount of wealth and power until the early nineteenth century.[14] The
175 scanty evidence as yet published suggests
623 that the system by which Indian nobles controlled higher offices gradually gave way to a system where the ex-officers

10. Zavala and Costelo, 1939-45, *passim*; Humboldt, 1: 429-30.
11. Haring, 1947, 174.
12. Chávez Orozco, 1943, ch. 1.
13. Zurita, 1891, 100-108; 163-169; 188-189.
14. Humboldt, 1811, 1:432-3.

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TABLE 5.—*Costs of housing in Cherán*

Category of housing	Description	Cost in pesos
a. Minimal	One poorly built "*tarîle*" kitchen	25–80
b. Low standard, small family.	One small trója kosína, or one "*tarîle*" kitchen and one small "*troje.*"	175–200
c. Adequate standard, small family.	One medium trója kosína or "*tarîle*" kitchen and one medium "*troje.*"	375–600
d. Wealthy	One large trója kosína and two good "*trojes.*"	550–800
	One trója kosína and two-room masonry-adobe house.	750

These figures show a very wide range, yet they still do not represent the true situation. Actually, of course, if a poverty-stricken person can persuade

[continued on P. 28 b]

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Only in a general way is there correlation between house size and type to social and economic status. Very poor people would be in categories *a* or *b*. But relatively poor and relatively wealthy people will often be in class *c*. Where the family occupies a class *d* category, this will usually be owing to one, or a combination of the following things:

[592] 1. Size of household. Often two brothers, or a father and one or more married sons occupy the residence.

[continued bottom page 28 b]

[p. 28a]

435 a relative or friend to permit him to use a bit of
342 land—as many do—the cost of minimal shelter
511 could be as low as $11. By begging scraps, even this figure could be reduced. Such a housing situation would, however, be regarded as "frightful" by all Tarascans.

At the other end of the scale, there are numerous Cherán residents who have much more costly establishments than those represented under *d*. Relatively few are in the condition of *b;* the great majority of Cherán residents would fall in category *c* and a fair proportion in category *d*. The discussion of house use will illustrate this point.

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342 2. A special occupation, such as storekeeping, may be
556 followed.

3. There may be definite social pretensions. Of these three causes, the last seems least operative. Wealth is a necessary prerequisite to anything more elaborate than class *d* housing but wealth is often concealed. Numerous families in class *d* are far from wealthy by Cherán standards.

These judgments are somewhat subjective, but case material could be cited to support them.

[p.28b]

8: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1953 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

186 In Paracho, when the question of ethnic identification was considered, it was found that cultural and linguistic rather than biological factors were indeed most important in the thinking of the citizenry. Such social distance as exists between members of the town, however, cannot be said to stem from an individual's classification as either Indio or Mestizo.
[101] Paracho is located in the heart of the Tarascan Sierra and prides itself not only on being the *cabecera* (seat of government) of the *municipio* (county), but also on being a cultural and trade center for the people of surrounding towns — "The Capital of the Sierra" is the way in which its citizens describe the town. In this role Paracho has dealings with the Tarascan-speaking Indians of nearby communities and, to some extent at least, recognizes its dependence upon the good will of these people for its own continued pre-eminence in the region. Parachoans consider that their activities, behavior and interests serve as a model for the people in the smaller towns. For this reason, the interests of the residents of Paracho are directed toward the more Indian characteristics of their neighbors as well as toward the more Mestizo-like activities which many Parachoans have accepted as their standard of behavior, a type of behavior which is demanded of participants in an "urban-like" culture. There is no overt conflict between these two cultural models which coexist in the region.

556 Class distinctions within Paracho are incipient and, hence, not yet
563 formalized. In general, prestige within the community accrues to those with wealth, with nice homes, and who live better than others. Tarascans
565 (Indians) as well as Mestizos can and do achieve such status, and both groups are to be found living in all sections of the pueblo. People are not considered Mestizo because they are wealthy, nor are all the poor in Paracho called Indian. There are no recognizable Indian or Mestizo subgroups in Paracho, a fact indicative of the indifference of the citizens to such distinctions within the town limits. Wealth and poverty, local importance and insignificance may characterize siblings within the same family.

186 There is considerable indefiniteness among Parachoans concerning
563 their ethnic identity. Using those criteria accepted elsewhere in Latin America, Paracho is culturally, in the main, a Mestizo town with an urban orientation. We were told on several occasions that Paracho is a Mestizo community. However, a large proportion of the people consider themselves to be Indian, although at the same time these same people believe themselves to be "better" than those in the "small Indian places" in the vicinity. As an example of the two standards of identification one can cite the case of the local head of the Federal project to combat illiteracy through the use of written Tarascan. He is a Parachoan by birth. He is referred to by members of the community as Mestizo, yet in the same breath these people say, "Camilo is a son of the pueblo because he has so much interest in things Indian." Most of his work, however, takes place

10:Beals & Hatcher E-4,5 (1941-1942) 1943
NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

146 This table is an abstraction derived from all the different sources of information. It shows that the diet contains somewhat more than 262 minumum requirements of vitamins A and B1, slightly less than mi- 556 nimum requirements of vitamin C, and appreciable deficiency of vita- 511 min B_2, ample proteins, and nearly a 25 percent deficiency in calories.

Such an average diet obviously is not very meaningful in giving the extremes. Fortunately, the two best fifteen day schedules secured were respectively from one of the wealthiest families in town and from one of the poorest. Table 2 shows the analysis of the diet for one week of an adult belonging to the wealthiest family.

The results of table 2 show a number of interesting and important points. While the vitamin A intake is above the minimum requirements (although still far below optimum recommendations), virtually all the vitamin A comes from yellow maize. If white maize were to be consumed, the vitamin A intake would be dangerously reduced. When it [184] is remembered that in some sections of Michoacán, white maize is preferred, it is evident that if the diets are at all similar to those at Cherán, serious vitamin A deficiency must occur. This is almost certainly the case, as diets of most Tarascan and many rural Mexicans in the area are little different from those in Cherán. The wealthy diet shows an approach to the higher recommended quantities of vitamin B_1, but vitamin C does not quite reach the minimum, and vitamin B_2 is still only about half the minimum needed. The protein intake is quite high and the calory intake is slightly above the recommended minimum for moderately active males. Table 2 is arranged to emphasize the importance of maize in the diets of even the wealthy.

Turning to the diet for a very poor family, analyzed in table 3, the vitamin A intake is slightly above minimum requirements, although again the figures depend upon the use of yellow maize. Vitamin B_1 intake is well below minimum requirements, and is only about half of the recommended quantity. Vitamin C, on the other hand, shows up much better than in the wealthy diet, due to the greater use of chile. If this is typical of poor family diets, then the vitamin C intake of poorer people is almost twice the minimum requirements, although

128 ment of Agriculture Circular N° 50, Revised 1931; Stiebeling and Phipard, **Diets of Families of Employed Wage Earners and Clerical Workers in Cities,** 113 United States Department of Agriculture Circular N° 507, 1939; Daniel and Munsell, **Vitamin of Foods,** United States Department of Agriculture Miscellaneous Publication 275, 1937; Borsook, **Vitamins,** Viking Press, 1940; Booher and Hartzler, **The Vitamin B Content of Foods,** United States Department of Agriculture Technical Bulletin N° 707, 1939: and Fixen and Roscoe, **Table of Vitamin Contents,** Nutrition Abstracts and Reviews, 9, 795 (1940).

10:Beals & Hatcher E-4,5 (1941-1942) 1943
NU34 Tarasco NU34
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TABLE II

	onzs.	*I. U. A*	*I. U. B_1*	*mg. C*	*mg. B_2*	*onzs. proteins*	*onzs. fats*	*Calories*
meat	10.4	52	117	5.7	.16	1.9	1.35	875
cheese	1.6	900	7	—	.25	.37	.52	179
bread	1	70	30	0	—	.1	.02	100
bananas	5.5	230	28	7	.07	.66	.11	154
milk	16	700	75	10	.60	.28	.32	310
lard	.5	—	—	—	—	—	H.5	127
beans	5	40	71	0	—	1.1	.08	495
oranges	12	117	100	107	.32	.11	.02	175
fish	1	200	20	0	.1	.25	—	200
greens	6	1,000	30	40	—	.24	—	70
chiles	.7	616	—	38	—	—	—	
Totals (without maize)		3,835 [1]	433	207.7	1.50	5.01	2.42	2,685
maize (yellow)	192	23,600	2,840	—	2.07	19.2	8.26	20,280
Total		27,585	3,318	207.7	3.57	24.21	10.68	22,965
Minimum requirements.		21,000	2,331	210	6.3	11.2	—	—
Recommended		42,000	3,500	525	12.6	15	—	21,000

Diet of one adult for one week, wealthy family.

1 This would be the quantity of vitamin A with white maize.

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10:Beals & Hatcher E-4,5 (1941-1942) 1943
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TABLE III

	onzs.	*I. U. A*	*I. U. B_1*	*mg. C*	*mg. B_2*	*onzs. proteins*	*onzs. fats*	*Calories*
maize	121	14,890	1,750	—	1.2	12.1	5.2	12,780
chiles	7.5	6,600	—	400	—	—	—	75
beans	1.5	10	33	—	—	.33	.02	250
cheese	2	1,120	9	—	.32	.36	.64	223
greens	3	500	15	20	—	.12	—	35
Totals		23,120	1,807	420	1.52	12.91	5.86	13,363
(with white maize)		8,230	—					
Minimum requirements.		21,000	2,331	210	6.3	11.2	—	—
Recommended		42,000	3,500	525	12.6	15	—	21,000

Diet of one adult for one week, very poor family.

10:Beals & Hatcher E-4,5 (1941-1942) 1943
NU34 Tarasco NU34
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still short of what is recommended by some authorities. With vitamin B_2, however, the deficiency again becomes marked. Protein intake is barely above the minimum, while less than two thirds the minimum number of calories is secured.

The figures given in these tables, and the difficulties which arose in securing them, point out serious problems in the development of an accurate measure of diets. As the junior author has remarked, "I don't believe any of the values I found, and I don't believe the results I got. The whole business consists of a series of estimates. The actual figures in the tables mean little, but the fact that, in spite of whatever contortions I put the data through, I came out with something similar, gives plausibility to the general results." The reasons for this situation lie only partly in the inadequacies of the data; even greater uncertainty results from the difficulty of applying the published results of vitamin assays directly to specific foods prepared in specific ways. Thus in the case of the crucial vitamin C values, which in poor diets is almost wholly derived from chile, the variation in the C content of different varieties, and the variable losses in cooking and storage of each of these varieties under specific conditions makes an accurate estimation very difficult. In the case of maize, there is apparently no information as to the effect of storage and preparation on the vitamin A and vitamin B_1 content. As Mills has pointed out, there is also a difference in the vitamin content of foods produced in different regions.[3] We have no way of knowing whether corn produced in Michoacán, for example, has the same vitamin content as the corns analyzed in the United States. Finally, one may raise the all important and hitherto completely unanswered question as to whether nutritional requirements are the same for all peoples.

Nevertheless, some suggestions emerge from the studies. First of all, it is clear that the basic field data must be collected with great accuracy and with refernce to specific foods. The work of Steggerda[4] in Yucatán, for example, could not be compared with the results in this paper simply because a large number of foods were lumped together, rendering any effort at vitamin analysis impossible. This also applies to general statements about the importance of individual foods to diets. Ralph Linton, for example, has recently suggested that the increased protein intake resulting from the domestication of the bean,

[3] Mills, C. A. "Climatic Effects on Growth and Development, with Particular Reference to the Effects of Tropical Residence" (American Anthropologist, 44: 1-13, 1942).

[4] Steggerda, Morris. "Maya Indians of Yucatán". Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication 531.